

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

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NODIS

CHEROKEE EYES ONLY FOR DR BRZEZINSKI

FOL TEL SENT ACTION SECSTATE FROM GABORONE DTD 07 NOV 1977 QTE

S E C R E T GABORONE 0985

NODIS CHEROKEE FROM LOW

E.O 11652: GDS

TAGS: PDEV RH

SUBJ: RHODESIAN NEGOTIATIONS: CARVER-CHAND PARTY CONVERSATIONS
WITH RHODESIAN SECURITY FORCES

1. SUMMARY: CARVER AND CHAND PARTIES MET WITH SECURITY CHIEFS
WALLS, HICKMAN, MCCLAREN, MUSSEL, SHARON AND FLOWER FOR
TWO AND ONE HALF HOURS WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON. RHODESIANS WERE
RESPECTFUL, BUSINESSLIKE BUT UNCOMPROMISING IN THEIR POSITIONS.
THEY ASKED QUESTIONS BUT REFUSED TO GIVE ANY VIEWS ON THE PROPOSAL.
END SUMMARY.

2. CARVER TRIED TO DRAW THEM OUT TO GET THEIR PROPOSALS OR AT
LEAST THEIR COMMENTS ON HIS PROPOSAL AS IT DEVELOPED. HE SAID
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THAT IF THEY HAD A PLAN WHICH HE COULD DESCRIBE AS REASONABLE
TO THE FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS, HE WOULD BE WILLING TO DO SO,
PUBLICLY IF NECESSARY AND COMPARE IT TO PATRIOTIC FRONT
INTRANSIGENCE. WALLS STUCK TO HIS INITIAL POSITION THAT HE WAS
ONLY AUTHORIZED TO LISTEN TO CEASE-FIRE PROPOSALS. HE HAD
NO MANDATE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO SAY MORE OR TALK ABOUT
THE SUBJECTS.

3. CARVER GRADUALLY UNVEILED HIS THOUGHTS ON FORMATION OF A ZIMBABWEAN NATIONAL ARMY DURING THE COURSE OF THE AFTERNOON UNDER PERSISTENT RHODESIAN QUESTIONING. THE ARMY, HE SAID, MUST BE RELATIVELY SMALL, AND, THEREFORE, THE MAIN PROBLEM WAS HOW TO REDUCE THE NUMBER OF MEN ON BOTH SIDES NOW CARRYING ARMS. IT SHOULD BE PREDOMINANTLY BLACK WITH NO WHITE UNITS LEFT. CARVER STUCK TO OWEN'S LAW AND ORDER STATEMENT FORMULA OF AN ARMY BASED ON LIBERATION FORCES OPEN TO ALL CITIZENS AND INCLUDING ELEMENTS OF THE RHODESIAN DEFENSE FORCES. THE BASIC ORGANIZATION OF THE REGULAR ARMY WOULD FOLLOW THAT OF THE CURRENT RDF. HE DESCRIBED THE RESERVE CORPS A NATIONAL GUARD MADE UP LARGELY OF LIBERATION FORCES WITH ITS LEADERSHIP GROUPED IN A HEADQUARTERS RESERVE STAFF AND FORWARD CONTROL POINTS WHICH WOULD CHANNEL THE GUERRILLAS BACK INTO THE RESERVES. THESE TWO UNITS WILL ULTIMATELY DISSOLVE INTO THE REGULAR FORCES. WHEN PRESSED AT THE END BY HICKMAN FOR FIGURES, HE SAID HE SAW A REGULAR ARMY OF 6 TO 8 BATTALIONS AND INCLUDING THE THREE RHODESIAN AFRICAN RIFLES BATTALIONS, THREE PATRIOTIC FRONT BATTALIONS AND TWO OTHERS MADE UP OF GROUPS WHICH WERE NOT EX-PATRIOTIC FRONT (IE, NEW RECRUITS AND MUZOREWA/SITHOLE FOLLOWERS).

4. THE RHODESIANS REJECTED THE BASIC FORMULA FROM THE BEGINNING. THOUGH THEY SAID THEY COULD AGREE TO INTEGRATION OF ELEMENTS OF LIBERATION FORCES INTO THE RDF. THEY STRONGLY OPPOSED
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PERMITTING SEPARATE LIBERATION GROUPS OF ZANLA AND ZIPRA TO EXIST CONTENDING IT WOULD ONLY LEAD TO CIVIL WAR. CARVER'S ANSWER WAS THAT REALISTICALLY THERE WAS NO WAY TO GET A CEASE-FIRE WITHOUT PROMISING THE PATRIOTIC FRONT THAT ITS FORCES WOULD PLAY A MAJOR ROLE IN THE NEW ARMY. YOU COULD NOT HAVE ONE GROUP OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WITHOUT THE OTHER. WALLS AGREED THAT NO CEASE-FIRE WOULD BE POSSIBLE WITHOUT BOTH. BUT CARVER POINTED OUT THAT BY THE INDEPENDENCE THE SEPARATE FORCES WOULD HAVE DISAPPEARED.

5. THERE WAS SOME DISCUSSION OF THE UN FORCE. PREM CHAND GENERALLY SUPPORTED CARVER'S PRESENTATION INCLUDING THE NEED FOR AT LEAST ONE MONTH BETWEEN THE TIME WHEN AGREEMENT WAS ACHIEVED AND A CEASE-FIRE IMPLEMENTED. A CEASE-FIRE WOULD HAVE TO INCLUDE A FREEZE OF FORCE MOVEMENTS. HE SAID IT WAS ALSO NECESSARY TO HAVE INSPECTION AND LIAISON OF FORCES OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY AND HE ACKNOWLEDGED THE DIFFICULTY OF UN TROOPS RESORTING TO FORCE. LATER JAMES JONAH TOLD THE RHODESIANS THAT THIS KIND OF THINKING WAS BEING REVISED BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL. HE SAID HE BELIEVED THAT MANDATE COULD BE STIFFER THAN IT USED TO BE. WALLS ASKED ABOUT THE COMPOSITION OF THE FORCE, SAYING THAT HE THOUGHT SOME COUNTRIES LIKE NIGERIA WOULD PROBABLY

BE UNACCEPTABLE TO THE RHODESIANS. CHAND ANSWERED THAT THERE WOULD BE CONSULTATION WITH ALL THE PARTIES BUT CARVER EXPLAINED THAT NO ONE WOULD HAVE A VETO.

6. CARVER MADE CLEAR HE WOULD BASE LAW AND ORDER ON THE POLICE FORCE WITH RESORT TO THE UN FORCES. SHARON ASKED WHETHER IT WAS INTENDED THAT THE POLICE FORCE AS IT NOW EXISTED INCLUDING ITS RESERVE UNITS AND ARMED FORCE STATUS WOULD CONTINUE. HE COMPLAINED THAT THE FORCE HAD NEVER HAD A COMMISSIONER FROM THE OUTSIDE IN ITS ENTIRE HISTORY NOR HAD ANY ONE BEEN BROUGHT INTO IT AT A CARVER LEVEL. CARVER EXPLAINED THAT THE CHANGE OF THE COMMISSIONER WAS HIS ONLY DEFENSE AGAINST THE PRESSURES BEING BROUGHT ON HIM BY PATRIOTIC FRONT AND OTHERS TO REORGANIZE THE POLICE FORCE AS HE WAS DOING THE ARMY. THEN HE INFORMED
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THE RHODESIANS OF THE NAME OF THE MAN HE HAD IN MIND AS COMMISSIONER FROM THE HONG KONG POLICE FORCE. SHARON SAID THAT HE WAS CONFIDENT THAT THE PRESENT POLICE FORCE COULD HANDLE LAW AND ORDER DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD SUCCESSFULLY IN URBAN AREAS WITH MINIMAL HELP FROM THE UN FORCES. IT WOULD BE MORE DIFFICULT IN RURAL AREAS.

7. TOWARDS THE END, MCCLAREN MADE CLEAR THAT SO FAR AS THE RHODESIANS WERE CONCERNED, THEY CONSIDERED CARVER'S PROPOSAL TO BE "FRAUGHT WITH DANGER". CARVER RESPONDED THAT HE AGREED THAT IT WAS ONLY WORKABLE IF THE LEADERS OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WANTED IT TO WORK. THEIR AGREEMENT AND SUPPORT, WHICH COULD NOT BE OBTAINED WITH ANYTHING LESS THAN THIS PROPOSAL, WAS THEREFORE NECESSARY FOR ITS SUCCESS.

8. DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS LUSAKA AND OTHER POSTS AS DESIRED.
NORLAND UNQTE VANCE

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